

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15

ACDA-10 SAJ-01 /093 W  
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R 020702Z NOV 76  
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5318  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMCONSUL ADANA  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL  
AMCONSUL IZMIR  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION NATO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 8284

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR  
SUBJECT: CAGLAYANGIL STATEMENT ON CYPRUS

REF: ANKARA 8251

1. FOLLOWING IS THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEXT PROVIDED BY THE  
MFA NOVEMBER 1 OF FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL'S OCTOBER 29 STATEMENT  
ON CYPRUS WHICH WAS SUMMARIZED REFTEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

RECENTLY, DIVERGENT VIEWS, INTERPRETATIONS HAVE BEEN  
PUT FORWARD WITH REGARD TO THE CYPRUS ISSUE. VARIOUS CIRCLES,  
WITH A DIRECT OR INDIRECT CONCERN IN THE MATTER, HAVE  
BEEN MAKING SUGGESTIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, THE QUESTION  
AS TO HOW OUR GOVERNMENT EVALUATES THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS  
HAS ATTRACTED WIDESPREAD INTEREST. FOR THIS REASON, I  
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THOUGHT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO STATE AT THIS STAGE OUR

VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT.

1. THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM LIES PRIMARILY IN PROVIDING FOR THE COEXISTENCE OF THE TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES, FREE FROM WORRIES ABOUT THEIR FUTURE, IN SECURITY AND A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT. THE REALIZATION OF AN ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM EMOTIONAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURES IS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE. BOTH COMMUNITIES SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE THEIR LIVING ON THE ISLAND FREELY. THIS HAPPY OUTCOME CAN MATERIALIZE ONLY THROUGH TALKS AMONG THOSE CONCERNED. THE WHOLE WORLD ACCEPTS THIS REALITY.

2. SO IT IS HARD TO COMPREHEND THE INSISTENCE BY CERTAIN CIRCLES ON BEGINNING THE TALKS WITH THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, BRUSHING ASIDE ALL OTHER IMPORTANT MATTERS, AS IF THE SIDES WERE HEADING FOR A PARTITION. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS TO LOOK INTO THE FUTURE WITH FORESIGHT AND ORGANIZE JOINT EFFORTS ACCORDINGLY.

AS FAR AS WE CAN SEE, THE FINAL SOLUTION NECESSARILY DEPENDS ON A BI-ZONAL FEDERAL SYSTEM. SUCH A SYSTEM SHOULD OF COURSE PROVIDE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, NON-ALIGNMENT AND INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS. THE DAY WHEN AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON THE POWERS OF THE FEDERATED STATES, EACH OF WHICH WILL BE A COMPONENT OF THIS SYSTEM, AND THE DUTIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM CAN BE FOUND; AND EVENTUALLY THE ASPIRATIONS AND CLAIMS OF THE CYPRIOTS, WHO HAVE LIVED THROUGH HARD TIMES WILL BE AUTOMATICALLY RESOLVED.

3. FULLY AWARE OF HER RESPONSIBILITIES, TURKEY HAS COMPLETELY FULFILLED HER DUTIES ON THIS SUBJECT.

A. DESPITE ADVERSE DEVELOPMENTS, THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS IS INDEBTED TO TURKEY FOR HELPING PRESERVE HER INDEPENDENCE.

B. ARMED CONFLICT, WHICH HAD CONTINUED FOR 20 YEARS AND CLAIMED THOUSANDS OF LIVES, CAME TO AN END ONLY AS A UNCLASSIFIED

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RESULT OF CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF POWER. IT IS COMPLETELY OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY AND THE TURKISH FORCES TO ASSAULT OR PERSECUTE THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY.

4. IT WOULD BE OF GREAT USE IF TURKEY AND GREECE, THE TWO GUARANTORS UNDER THE CYPRIOT CONSTITUTION, WERE TO COOPERATE AND MAKE THE UTMOST EFFORTS TO FIND A SOLUTION

TO THE QUESTION. IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT THE  
1960 AGREEMENT CAN ONLY BE IMPLEMENTED IN THIS WAY.

5. AS A RESULT OF THIS SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY, I  
ISSUED A STATEMENT ON DECEMBER 5, 1975, CALLING ON GREECE,  
WHICH HAS A COMMUNITY ON THE ISLAND AND IS A GUARANTOR  
OF THE CYPRIOT CONSTITUTION, TO TAKE PART IN THE ENLARGED  
INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WITH TURKEY. SINCE THE INTERCOMMUNAL  
TALKS WERE DEADLOCKED, I THOUGHT THAT TOGETHER WITH  
GREECE WE COULD HAVE GIVEN A NEW IMPETUS TO THEM. WHILE  
DOING THIS, WE NEVER INTENDED TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE  
TWO COMMUNITIES AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. BUT SINCE SOME  
COUNTRIES NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE QUESTION WERE  
PUTTING FORWARD FORMULAS, IT WAS QUITE NATURAL FOR TURKEY  
AND GREECE, AS THE TWO GUARANTOR POWERS, TO PARTICIPATE  
IN THE PEACE EFFORTS. UNFORTUNATELY, MY SUGGESTIONS OF  
DECEMBER 5TH FOR THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL  
TALKS WERE REJECTED BOTH BY GREECE AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS  
IN LESS THAN 24 HOURS. THIS EFFORT, IN FACT, MIGHT HAVE  
TURNED OUT TO BE SUCCESSFUL. I STILL BELIEVE THAT IT IS  
WORTH TRYING AGAIN.

6. A WEEK AFTER MY ABOVE-CITED STATEMENT, MY WESTERN  
COLLEAGUES TOLD ME IN BRUSSELS THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH  
A DIFFERENT SYSTEM.

INSPIRED BY THOSE VIEWS, I REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH  
MY GREEK COLLEAGUE, MR. BITSIOS, ON DECEMBER 12, WHICH HAS  
COME TO BE KNOWN AS THE "BRUSSELS AGREEMENT". UNDER  
THE AGREEMENT, EVERY ASPECT OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION WOULD  
BE SERIOUSLY AND SECRETLY DISCUSSED AT A NUMBER OF SUBCOMMITTEES  
IN WHICH TURKISH AND GREEK EXPERTS WOULD ALSO TAKE PART

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WHEN NECESSARY WITH A VIEW TO REACHING A PACKAGE DEAL.  
SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION WOULD  
FIRST BE MADE BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS.

AS IS KNOWN, AFTER MARKARIOS PREVENTED GREEK CYPRIOT  
REPRESENTATIVE, MR. CLERIDES, FROM SUBMITTING ANY  
PROPOSALS DURING THE FIFTH ROUND OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS  
IN VIENNA IN FEBRUARY 1975, THE PARTIES EXCHANGED GENERAL  
PRINCIPLES CONCERNING CONSTITUTIONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL  
MATTERS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY  
GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN NICOSIA. WE WANTED  
THESE MATTERS TO BE HANDLED IN A MEANINGFUL AND SERIOUS  
MANNER, BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES WHICH WERE TO BE SET UP. THE  
GREEK CYPRIOTS REFUSED THIS AND THEY STILL DO.

7. DURING THE CONSULTATIONS HELD IN SEPTEMBER 1976  
IN NEW YORK, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AGAIN REJECTED SECRETARY  
GENERAL WALDHEIM'S CONCILIATORY CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE  
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RESUMPTION OF THE WORK OF THESE SUBCOMMITTEES, EVEN THOUGH  
THE TURKISH SIDE HAD AGREED.

8. AS WILL BE RECALLED, THE TURKISH CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR,  
MR. SULEYMAN ONAN, SENT A LETTER TO THE UN SECGEN SPECIAL  
REPRESENTATIVE IN NICOSIA IN WHICH HE RESTATED THAT THE  
TURKISH SIDE WAS READY TO DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS OF THE  
PROBLEM, INCLUDING THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION.

AMONG OTHER THINGS, HE POINTED OUT THAT IF A SOLUTION  
ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH PARTIES WAS DESIRED, THE TALKS RELATING  
TO THE TERRITORIAL ISSUES SHOULD BE BASED ON THE  
FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES:

--THE TURKISH AND GREEK SECTORS SHOULD BE HOMOGENOUS  
REGARDING POPULATION AND GEOGRAPHY.

--THE LINE WHICH SEPARATES THE TWO ZONES SHOULD PROVIDE CO-EXISTENCE FOR THE TWO COMMUNITIES AND GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY.

--THE DELIMITATION OF THE TURKISH ZONE SHOULD NOT HINDER THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC WELFARE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS.

--HUMANITARIAN ISSUES SHOULD BE HANDLED BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY STILL BELIEVES THIS IS THE WAY TO REACH A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

9. AS IS APPARENT, TURKEY AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY HAVE DONE THE BEST IN THEIR POWER. BUT THE POLICIES OF ENOSIS AND THE LONG STRUGGLE PURSUED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, HAVE BEEN A SOURCE OF DESPAIR FOR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY WHO HAS FOUGHT A LIFE-AND-DEATH STRUGGLE FOR THE LAST 20 YEARS AND THESE POLICIES HAVE FORCED THEM TO SEARCH FOR NEW FORMULAS. IN ORDER TO AVOID A COMPLETE BREAKDOWN, IT IS NECESSARY AND SUFFICIENT FOR THE GREEK COMMUNITY TO STRETCH OUT A COOPERATIVE HAND TO THE TURKISH COMMUNITY.

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10. ON THE MUCH DISCUSSED QUESTION OF THE READJUSTMENT OF BORDERS, I BELIEVE A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES CAN BE REACHED, WITH THE HELP OF CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM TURKEY AND GREECE AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PRINCIPLES PUT FORWARD BY THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, IF IT IS DISCUSSED AT THE SUBCOMMITTEES WHICH WERE TO BE SET UP UNDER THE BRUSSELS AGREEMENT. IF WE WANT TO FIND A POSITIVE AND SPEEDY SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, WE SHOULD STOP WASTING TIME IN ABSTRACT THEORETICAL AND PROCEDURAL DISCUSSIONS AND TRY INSTEAD TO OBTAIN CONCRETE RESULTS. CONSEQUENTLY, THE SUBCOMMITTEES, WHOSE FORMATION HAS NOW BECOME INEVITABLE, SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY CONVENED. AS I HAVE POINTED OUT BEFORE, TO BEGIN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE, AS IF THE SIDES WERE HEADING FOR A PARTITION, AND LINK THE OTHER ISSUES TO BE OUTCOME OF THIS PARTICULAR ONE IS NOT THE RIGHT WAY TO GO ABOUT IT. WE MUST DISCUSS ALL ISSUES SIMULTANEOUSLY.

11. ON THE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL MATTERS RELATING TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION, THE POINT WHICH DISTURBS US MOST IS THE INSISTENCE ON THE REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE OF CYPRUS AS IF THE STATE WERE BASED ON A SINGLE COMMUNITY. THE

CYPRUS ISSUE IS AN OLD ONE. IT MAY NOT BE EASY TO RECONCILE THE TWO COMMUNITIES. NEGOTIATIONS MAY TAKE A LONG TIME. INSISTENCE ON THE PRESERVATION F THE PRESENT SITUATION MAY LEAD TO PARTITION. WE FEEL IT IS NECESSARY TO FORM AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES ON A FINAL SOLUTION AND ON THE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE NEW FORMULA WILL IN NO WAY SERVE AS A MODEL FOR THE FUTURE CYPRIOT STATE. IF WE ACHIEVE THIS, WE WILL BOTH AVERT PARTITION AND FACILITATE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES.

12. IT SHOULD ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED THAT IN CYPRUS THE QUESTION OF HOW AND WHERE PEOPLE MAKE THEIR LIVING WILL IN THE COURSE OF TIME BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE QUESTION OF WHERE PEOPLE LIVE. THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF CYPRUS ARE SUFFICIENT FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES, IF INVESTMENTS MADE IN BOTH SECTORS BEAR FRUITS OF COOPERATION, AND THE TWO SIDES

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CAN MAKE JOINT INVESTMENTS AND SET UP JOINT BUSINESSES.

WHEN A FINAL SOLUTION IS REACHED, FREE CIRCULATION WILL BE POSSIBLE IN BOTH SECTORS.

13. THIS OUTCOME, WHICH MAY APPEAR TO BE FANCIFUL AT THE MOMENT, CAN EASILY BE RACHED IF WE UNITE AROUND THE IDEA OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND PUT THE SUBCOMMITTEES INTO ACTION. END TEXT.

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